Latinx Spanish-speaking Students' Experiences with Language and Race on Campus

Ana Mitchell Córdova

HMN 679HB
Special Honors in the Department of Humanities
The University of Texas at Austin

May 2019

_____

Dr. Belem G. López
Mexican American and Latina/o Studies
Supervising Professor

_____

Dr. Fiona Conway
Steve Hicks School of Social Work
Second Reader

Latinx Spanish-speaking Students' Experiences with Language and Race on Campus

Ana Mitchell Córdova, B.A.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2019

Supervisor: Belem G. López

Abstract

Prior research addresses the experiences of Latinx students and students of color on university campuses through the framework of Critical Race Theory and related frameworks, such as LatCrit (Jones, Castellanos, & Cole, 2002; Hurtado, 1992; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991; Yosso, Smith, Ceja, & Solórzano, 2009). By centering the examination on Latinx students, we can see how intertwined language and race/ethnicity are; Spanish language usage becomes significantly connected to Latinidad. However, although Critical Race Theory provides space to address issues of language as an aspect of identity, as it is an interdisciplinary framework, research at the intersection of race and language within this context is lacking. The present study employs a *raciolinguistic perspective*, which theorizes the co-naturalization of language and race (Rosa & Flores, 2017) to examine the linguistic

and racial experiences of Latinx-identifying, Spanish-speaking students at the University of Texas at Austin (UT Austin). This study examines how these students react to on-campus interactions, and perceive their racial/ethnic identities and Spanish language usage in relation to the campus social environment at large, and on a smaller level, the Spanish language classroom. To explore these questions, we had Latinx-identifying, Spanish-speaking students complete a survey about their linguistic background, educational experiences at UT Austin, racial and ethnic identification, and feeling towards others' perceptions of themselves. Latinx student responses were compared based on whether they identified as people of color or white. I hypothesize that the subset of students of color in this group will report more negative feelings and discomfort in interactions on campus compared to their Latinx, white counterparts. Based on responses to perception-related questions, I also hypothesize that these students will report a more negative campus climate than their Latinx, white counterparts, who will report campus climate to be more positive despite their also identifying as Latinx. Thirdly, I hypothesize that language will have an impact on these students' experiences, as opposed to no impact at all. Results are discussed in terms of how raciolinguistic ideologies permeate the experiences of Latinx, Spanish-speaking students at UT Austin according to Rosa and Flores's (2017) stated components of a raciolinguistic perspective.

Acknowledgements

A million thanks to Dr. Belem G. López and Dr. Fiona Conway for providing me feedback and support throughout this whole process. To Dr. Linda Mayhew for being so patient with me these past few years. To Hannah, the Data Team, and my fellow Humanities majors for commiserating with me, listening to my complaints, and generally being there for me throughout this whole process.

Table of Contents

Introduction

Maria, the daughter of Mexican immigrants, has grown up in Texas all her life. She was exposed to both Spanish and English, and has never had a problem communicating in either one. While Maria does not necessarily use a "formal" Spanish register, as her Spanish-language usage occurs in more familial, community, or interpersonal contexts, this has never been an issue. Maria would consider herself a Spanish-English bilingual, and people in her family and community did not express disdain or other negative thoughts about her bilingualism. Eventually, Maria graduates high school and enrolls at UT Austin. It is a new environment, Maria sees how much learning a language is pushed as a way to get ahead and stand out among other students or future job competition, and so she decides to take a Spanish class to learn those "formal" Spanish skills she decides she lacks. In class, Maria starts feeling a little out of place. She knows more Spanish than the other students who are learning Spanish for the first time, but she feels like they and her instructor do not care that she already knows it. Sometimes, the instructor praises the other students, even when they say or pronounce something incorrectly. They also talk about how they need to learn "proper" Spanish, like correctly conjugating the irregular verb, satisfacer (satisfy), which Maria believed she was saying correctly until now. Maria's heritage speaker Spanish, which has never been a problem is now not good enough and has begun to make her feel bad.

Although the above is a fictionalized account, this is something that many heritage speakers of Spanish encounter often. Being able to speak more than one

language is valuable, except when it is not, which often happens with Spanish. Universities explicitly promote efforts towards diversity and inclusion, but as in Maria's class, more subtle social dynamics counteract those efforts and create an environment that is not inclusive. Often these social dynamics are dependent or influenced by ideological differences, which can be formed early on in our lives. In day to day life, the average person is probably not thinking about how specific unconscious biases or a person's general upbringing can impact language use or other language issues. After all, a social space where language is involved, like a classroom, is just a space where students are simply learning things, right? But, just as someone may inadvertently hurt someone's feelings, 'regular' comments or behaviors can implicate certain negative views of identity and aspects of it (like that of the Latinx, Spanish speaker) through their underlying ideologies (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

Regardless of the subject material, a classroom is a space where people, in learning new things, are somewhat vulnerable. The combination of the vulnerability, and the convergence of different people with different backgrounds learning new things together can incite different emotions and reactions. Language classrooms are no different, but we arguably do not consider language and emotions as much as we do other things.

Social spaces, like classrooms where language is involved can be influenced by many other things as well. Language itself does not exist in a vacuum, and its use will be affected by different social processes. Thus, linguistic hierarchies and prejudices could have a significant impact. The demographics of interlocutors

involved, differences in authority or power (as in the case of students and instructors), the greater cultural or educational context in which the space is located, and the greater sociopolitical context can also all impact the way people feel, learn, and interact. If, on one hand, a majority of students in a language classroom already speak the target language, as in a heritage language classroom, those few stragglers might feel left out or invalidated. If, on the other hand, the class is mostly non-heritage speakers, the few students who do speak the target language may become teacher's pets or might feel like their abilities are undervalued. Class dynamics can get thornier when we also bring into consideration other aspects of identity, like race. Race does not exist in a vacuum and the historical legacies of society and the greater environment can affect these smaller, specific settings (Bonilla-Silva, 1997). For example, the United States' legacy of slavery, institutional racism, and discrimination does not cease to exist even if one college professor makes a genuine effort to welcome and accommodate all kinds of students, and facilitate class dynamics well. Even if an institutional implements seemingly beneficial colorblind policies, structural racism will still impact individuals (Bonilla-Silva, 2006).

If we consider the above English-dominant, non-heritage language classroom scenario where a minority of students already speak the target language (Spanish), the seemingly useful instruction of "formal" Spanish can lead to a situation where the heritage speakers are seen as deficient or incorrect (Flores & Rosa, 2019). What is considered formal Spanish is akin to what in English we deem proper or academic English; what is supposedly formal is the "correct" application of grammar rules, subject/verb conjugations, and register, not to mention an

adherence to more so Castilian Spanish (i.e. white, colonizer Spanish from Spain) among other things. However, if the situation were reversed and it were a group of native English speakers who were being taught "formal" English, an instructor might generally not consider those students to be deficient because they did not need to consciously know what a participle or gerund is, or how the present progressive is used to be able to communicate. But we frame Spanish speakers, who often are people of color, and speakers of other languages as deficient.

This framing of these heritage speakers' supposed lack of formal language skills as something to be fixed or improved is a problem (Rosa, 2016b). It is a belief or ideology tied to the racialization (and also the class of the individuals in question, although this study does not focus on class) of these speakers, where racialization associates people with "distinct ethnoracial categories, linguistic codes, and historical moments" (Rosa, 2016a, p. 163) or marks them with an ethnoracial status (Rosa, 2016b). Moreover, for people learning a language they are not a heritage speaker of, such as Spanish, language instruction and becoming bilingual is framed as an opportunity or asset for their future selves (Flores, 2016). In other words, we privilege non-native speakers and marginalize native speakers, in turn devaluing the genuine language skills they already do have. The present study seeks to examine this problematic framing of these heritage speaker students by educational structures and systems when there is nothing inherently wrong with them.

As this study focuses on Latinx, Spanish-speaking students' self-perceptions and feelings towards others' perceptions, I am focusing on multiple factors that can influence a social environment such as a college campus: the greater

sociopolitical environment it is located in, institutional policies and practices, and more individual factors like professors' and peers' places in relation to a student. Also, since language and race/ethnicity do not exist in isolation, examining how they interact with these aforementioned factors can provide insight into the experiences of these students and further our understanding of raciolinguistic ideologies.

Texas, UT Austin, and their Demographics

UT Austin is located in Texas, a politically conservative state in the United States south, and a hostile place to many marginalized individuals for whom legal recourse has been an important way to secure protection, to some extent, against the state (Issues). Significant portions of Texas's population are Spanish speaking and Latinx/Hispanic individuals, although these groups do not always overlap. According to Pew Hispanic, as of 2014, 76% of Hispanics in Texas report a language other than only English spoken at home ("Demographic Profile"). For many individuals, Spanish is the language used at home. Pew also reports that Hispanic people comprise 39% of the state population as of 2014 ("Demographic Profile").

Public, state universities, like UT Austin, carry this legacy of the state, and must reconcile it and their student bodies that comprise many of those same marginalized individuals. As of Fall 2018, UT Austin reports that Hispanic individuals comprise only 20.9% of the student body, while 41.1% identify as white ("Facts and Figures"). Although UT Austin does not have a category for non-Hispanic whites in this publication, based on these and Pew Hispanic's numbers,

Hispanic students are underrepresented in the student body. Underrepresentation of Latinx/Hispanic individuals also extends to professors and other instructors as well (Miranda & Morales, 2019). Faculty are overwhelmingly white, with almost 75% identifying as such according to the Texas Tribune as of July 2017[1] ("University of Texas at Austin | Government Salaries Explorer", 2017).

These disparities reflect the university's failure to be accessible and welcoming to Latinx/Hispanic individuals, even if it implements short-term, non-systematic solutions. Additionally, for many marginalized students, their time at this massive campus may be marked by harassment, violence, discrimination, or other negative experiences. (Karacostas, 2018a; Karacostas, 2018b; Jaramillo & Cannizzo, 2016). Naturally, the university is not going to risk losing alumni funding, decreases in student enrollment, and other things that are bad for business by publicizing this, but this is a decision at the expense of these students who directly experience this negative environment.

Despite the hostile environment marginalized students experience, and UT Austin's status as a public, predominantly white institution (PWI), UT Austin presents itself as a place for all kinds of students. One of its stated core values is Individual Opportunity: "many options, diverse people and ideas, one university" ("Mission & Values," n.d.). On its webpage dedicated to diversity, UT provides a longer statement:

[1] This Texas Tribune data set includes all employees of UT Austin. I downloaded and filtered it for Adjunct Assistant Professors, Adjunct Professors, Assistant Deans, Assistant Professors, Associate Deans, Associate Professors, Instructors, Deans, Vice Deans, Lecturers, Post-doctoral Fellows, Professors, Research Associates, and Senior Lecturers. Out of these 3895 entries, 2852 or 73.2% had white listed for their race. This data is approximate, as I cannot be sure of all employee titles that fall within the faculty category, but it provides an idea of the whiteness of UT Austin faculty.

> "We embrace and encourage diversity in many forms, striving to create an inclusive community that fosters an open and supportive learning, teaching and working environment. Our strength as a university draws from our wide range of perspectives and experiences, and we support a free exchange of ideas alongside thoughtful consideration of our differences" ("Diversity," n.d.).

This supposed inclusion and diversity ends up being more of an appearance than anything substantial. UT Austin still primarily acts in service of its majority white student body. However, we arguably cannot expect more from a university with an intensely racist past that receives a good chunk of its funding from the pockets of white, conservative, racist people, and is at the mercy of the Texas Legislature[2].

On such example of the university accommodating these types of people is the recent reinstallment of the James Hogg statue next to the university tower and Hogg auditorium. Amid a national dialogue on confederate statues and the racism they represent, and calls for their removal, the university removed the Hogg statue alongside a handful of other statues of confederate leaders in 2017 (Allen, 2018). But at the end of 2018, President Fenves sent a university wide email saying that the Hogg family had made a sizable donation, and so the university was going to reinstall the statue. Perhaps if UT Austin prioritized its students over being a successful business, and genuinely cared about making the university a welcoming

[2] Texas property taxes are used to fund public schools and there is no state tax to supplement. For state universities, the legislature has also decreased funding significantly over the years. UT Austin is one of these schools that now has to navigate funding the university with, among other sources of funding, decreasing state support and increased tuition rates. The burden of this gets passed onto students and their families (McGee, 2019; Najmabadi, 2018; Swaby, 2019)

space for all students, it would reconsider its unofficial support of figures such as Hogg.

UT Austin exists as a place that normalizes white, middle class, conservative interests and people. For anyone who is not that, such as Latinx, Spanish-speaking students or other marginalized students, the climate of the university is not a favorable one. Thus, the combination of the university's past, its supposed efforts towards inclusion and diversity, along with the racial and ethnic demographics present, make UT Austin an interesting place to see the dynamics between race, language, and power at play.

UT Austin and organizations such as Pew Hispanic, that base their categorical labels on Census information, use the term Hispanic when referring to this group of people of Spanish-speaking origin and ancestry in Spain/Latin America (US Census Bureau, 2018). In this study, I am choosing to use the term Latinx (Latina/o) to signify my focus on people with ancestry specifically in Latin America who also have history of speaking Spanish. This may result in a disparity of sorts between the population I am studying and the population the university considers to be Hispanic. The present study seeks to explore the experiences, perceptions, and opinions of Latinx, Spanish-speaking students at UT Austin in order to address the lack of research into this particular context within the research.

Literature Review

A *raciolinguistic perspective* is how Jonathan Rosa and Nelson Flores refer to a framework that "theorizes the historical and contemporary co-naturalization of

language and race" (2017, p. 621). This perspective seeks to not only understand language and race together, but also work in the broader project of challenging white supremacy. It comprises five components:

1. Historical and contemporary colonial co-naturalization of race and language
2. Perceptions of racial and linguistic difference
3. Regimentations of racial and linguistic categories
4. Racial and linguistic intersections and assemblages
5. Contestations of racial and linguistic power formations

Historical and Contemporary Colonial Co-naturalizations of Race and Language

The first of Rosa and Flores's five components seeks "to understand the interplay of language and race within the historical production of nation-state/colonial governmentality, and the ways that colonial distinctions within and between nation-state borders continue to shape contemporary linguistic and racial formations" (2017, p. 623). They provide a brief outline of historical, colonial logics and justifications surrounding both race and language, and also emphasize that the situation of raciolinguistics within colonial history is not only applicable to the United States, but also the global world.

White Public Space

The way language and race impact an individual can depend, among other things, on the context in which those interactions or experiences happen.

Geographical context will create certain distinctive conditions, but different social contexts can produce unique environments as well. The present study considers the particular environment created by UT Austin, a public, predominantly white institution (PWI) located in a politically conservative southern state that is dominated by white men but also happens to house a significant population of Spanish speakers and Hispanic/Latinx people.

UT Austin, as a state institution, was created with white faculty, students and their needs in mind. The Supreme Court case *Sweatt v. Painter (1950)* was decided in favor of Heman Sweatt, who became the first Black enrollee in a graduate/professional program at the university. 1956 was the first year that Black undergraduates were admitted, and the university officially integrated its facilities in 1965 ("Timeline"). These racial dynamics that existed at the university officially leading up to the Civil Rights Movement did not automatically cease upon integration; To this day the historical production of race, as Rosa and Flores describe, is alive and well on the UT Austin campus and inevitably is articulated alongside the linguistic diversity found on campus.

A more superficial definition of the term 'predominantly white institution' might follow the sole demographic numbers of the institution in question, but a more thorough definition takes into account the "racial composition based on the institution's structural and compositional diversity," the normalcy of whiteness, and the history of the institution with respect to segregation and exclusion (Bourke, 2016, p. 16; Brown & Dancy, 2010). Also, the idea of whiteness as the norm is not limited to the university; assumptions about race and ethnicity in the United States

rely on “the idea of the normative or generic American, white, middle-class, English-speaking” (Urciuoli, 1996, p. 16). As an institution with a racist past and one that has been funded by the state, it is reasonable to consider UT Austin as a PWI, and in turn examine how its legacy affects Latinx students in the present day.

Jane Hill’s (1998) sociolinguistic development of the concept of “white public space” is applicable in this context of historical and governmental co-articulations of language and race. Hill’s work extends this concept from Page and Thomas’s argument about white public space in the context of healthcare (1994) to linguistic anthropology. Hill defines white public space as “a morally significant set of contexts that are the most important sites of the practices of a racializing hegemony, in which Whites are invisibly normal and in which racialized populations are visibly marginal and the objects of monitoring ranging from individual judgments to Official English legislation” (p. 682).

The environment on the UT Austin campus is comparable to white public space. Students and other people of color are the individuals who are noticed among an otherwise white student body, faculty, and administration, and their visibility lends them to be monitored, disciplined, or at times unsupported by the university (Karacostas, 2018a; Karacostas, 2018b; Jaramillo & Cannizzo, 2016). Hill builds off of Urciuoli’s (1996) explanation of the differentiation into an inner and outer sphere of bilingual Puerto Ricans’ language use. The inner sphere involves intimate talk with household, other familiars, and fuzzy boundaries between Spanish and English, and the outer sphere, where talk involves strangers, “gatekeepers” such as

schoolteachers, and other non-familiar people, and sharply defined boundaries (Hill, 1998).

Although there may be instances of inner-sphere talk on the university campus, such as between a student and a close mentor, the relationship between an individual as a student and the university or classroom setting falls more so into the outer sphere Urciuoli describes. This campus environment where white students abound and where instructors, administration, and other people in positions of power serve as gatekeepers who determine the academic fate (and possibly more) of a student creates a space where marginalized students are disadvantaged (Jones, Castellanos, & Cole, 2002) compared to these "normative" white student peers (Urciuoli, 1996, p. 16). In the outer sphere, white people hear public Spanish that is not "carefully managed" and therefore licensed as being "impolite and even dangerous" (Hill, 1998, p. 681). On the UT Austin campus, this suggests that instances of Spanish use that are not acceptable to white students are threatening and may put those Spanish-speaking students at risk.

Raciolinguistic Management of Latinxs

In his 2016 article on racial chronotopes, Rosa engages the historical/colonial production of language and race in his discussion of the "raciolinguistic management" of Latinxs and their Spanish language usage in the United States' past and future (2016b, p. 107). Various conceptions of Latinx people in the United States exist. For example, there is the narrative of Latinxs as another group of immigrants who in the future could become "unmarked Americans," but currently are racialized as Other (2016b, p. 107). There is also the

narrative of Latinxs as still very racialized but unassimilable to the point that they have to be controlled to prevent destruction to the country (2016b). These conceptions have a temporal element that recalls the historical treatment of Latinxs in the United States and other originating geographic locations, as well as a linguistic element, since language usage and change (from Spanish to English) is important to these views of Latinx people and the US future.

Rosa argues that "conceptions of pastness and futurity of the Spanish and English languages differ depending on language users' ethnoracial positions" (2016b, p. 106). In the United States, becoming a bilingual or multilingual speaker of English and Spanish is something seen as an attribute for whites that allows them to maintain their privilege and power. However, for Latinxs, being multilingual is not seen as a benefit or asset. For them, assimilation or inclusion into an American future requires learning English and losing Spanish. This echoes Western nations' historical practices of requiring assimilation or adoption of white, Western practices from colonized peoples while the colonizers benefitted off of those same people. Rosa notes also that the contemporary marginalizing treatment of Latinx people and their Spanish language usage is supposedly justified by concern for the future of the United States and American identity (2016b).

Recalling Hill's discussion of inner and outer spheres, and how Spanish language is policed in white public space, we can see how Latinx people are stigmatized through their language practices for the continued maintenance of space for white people. We see this as well, not only on a smaller, individual level, but also in how more macro government policy enacts this type of management.

Consider for example the availability of government information, forms, and other resources in English and not as much in Spanish or other languages even though there is technically no official national language.

Languagelessness and Bilingual Education

Rosa also discusses raciolinguistic ideologies in connection with ideologies of "languagelessness" which "involve claims about a given person's or group's limited linguistic capacity in general" and question their personhood" (2016a, p. 163). This brings to mind the United States's treatment of Native Americans in the 19th century and Western countries' treatment of indigenous people during colonization. For the colonizers, indigenous people's ability or willingness to adopt the settler language over their own indigenous language became a marker for humanity/personhood and later civility. This rationalization allowed them to justify their horrific treatment of indigenous people, their characterizations of them as savages or unassimilable, and their practices of enforcing English/banning indigenous languages and communication. Rosa argues that racializing language by linking it to racialized people connects the ideologies of language standardization to ideologies of languagelessness" (2016a).

In the context of a university Spanish classroom, for example, we can think of how native Spanish speakers often absorb the faulty ideas promulgated by white, Western standards that they do not speak formal or "good" Spanish, and therefore they cannot speak Spanish altogether. This is a view which positions Spanish speakers as lacking or deficient, when there is no such inherent characteristic in Spanish speakers (or speakers of any language for that matter). Rosa gives an

example of a Latina high school principal who, despite being multilingual and enjoying class privilege, was "still viewed as linguistically and intellectually inferior" compared to subordinate monolingual, white teachers (2016a, p. 164). Rosa also notes that unfortunately the Latina principal was dismissed, and that her raciolinguistic status probably contributed.

Flores also continues this discussion of language deficiency and languagelessness in his article on differing visions of bilingual education, and how it evolved from a struggle against societal oppression to reinforcing "hegemonic whiteness," or "White supremacist, imperialist, and capitalistic relations of power" (2016, p. 14). Flores argues that widespread institutionalization of subtractive forms of bilingual education, where maintenance of the home language is neglected in favor of developing academic English proficiency, reflect how home languages of language-minoritized students are used to develop Standard American English (2016). This is in contrast to the seemingly oppositional less-prevalent institutionalization of additive forms of bilingual education which still reify hegemonic whiteness by expecting students to acquire Standard American English while maintaining their home language (2016).

The origins of hegemonic whiteness are in the larger structural development of nation states and colonization, which in turn led to the more individual level differentiation between the ideal white subject and racialized Others, "who were positioned as threats to national unity and colonial power" (2016, p. 14). Thus, we go back again to the historical conditions that have produced these continuous raciolinguistic dynamics where whiteness and the language associated with

whiteness are centered at the expense or sidelining of individuals who were not white and whose language practices were not "acceptable."

UT Austin as a Contemporary Site of Historical/colonial Dynamics

Although in the day to day life of a UT Austin student the aforementioned raciolinguistic dynamics may not be apparent, the university campus is place where we can examine them. The university is an entity managed by the state government and subject to federal regulations. It is located in a place that has a history of colonization and displacement of indigenous peoples, first by the Spanish and then by the English. In examining this legacy, one sees how the university campus functions as white public space where the existence of Latinx, Spanish-speaking individuals is monitored and regulated. It is a space where Flores's (2016) hegemonic whiteness is reproduced by people and institutional structures alike that push these altruistic narratives of changing the world through the acquisition of skills and educational assets, like multilingualism, available at the university to those students who can access the university in the first place.

Perceptions of Racial and Linguistic Difference

This component of Rosa and Flores's raciolinguistic perspective attempts to develop a theory of "racialized language perception" (2017, p. 627), or in other words how perception of racialized individuals' language practices can be guided by racial hegemony and reproduce raciolinguistic ideologies. They draw on three insights:

> "(i) redirecting analytical attention from the communicative practices of racialized speaking subjects to the hearing practices of

> white listening subjects; (ii) … framing a discussion of racially hegemonic perceiving subjects more broadly that are oriented to spoken language as well as other modes of communication and semiotic forms; and (iii) we emphasize that racially hegemonic perceptions can be enacted not simply by individuals but also nonhuman entities…and not simply by white individuals but rather by whiteness as an historical and contemporary subject position that can be situationally inhabited both by individuals recognized as white and nonwhite" (p. 627-628).

Rosa and Flores (2017) focus here on the white subjects who are doing the perceiving, and not the individuals who are exhibiting language usage that gets racialized. This decentering allows them to examine the structural reproduction of white supremacy from another angle.

Rosa and Flores expand on this notion of the white perceiving subject in their 2015 article on language diversity in education. Their analysis builds upon the historical/colonial impact and effects discussed in the previous section. As mentioned before, subtractive forms of bilingual education or language diversity reproduce hegemonic whiteness and, thus, educational inequality. Rosa and Flores argue that additive approaches are also stigmatizing, as they involve "discourses of appropriateness" which frame standard linguistic practices as objective and academic (2015, p. 150). This entails there being something defining what exactly the standard of academic appropriateness is, and naturally this aligns with white, Eurocentric English ideals already discussed. Rosa and Flores focus on how

individuals and their language use are racialized to the point of being deemed inappropriate in an academic setting. Here, raciolinguistic ideologies "produce racialized speaking subjects who are constructed as linguistically deviant even when engaging in linguistic practices positioned as normative or innovative when produced by privileged white subjects" (2015, p. 150). We can think here again about Rosa's example of the Latina principal who had the "assets" of multilingualism and comfortable socioeconomic class and yet was dismissed, or a heritage speaker in a Spanish class whose Spanish skills are not valued in comparison to white students for whom they would be.

Important to Rosa and Flores's argument here is the concept of the white gaze or the "perspective that privileges dominant white perspectives on the linguistic and cultural practices of racialized communities" (2015, p. 150-151). Their raciolinguistic perspective seeks to understand the white gaze, as both a speaking subject who engages in the "linguistic practices of whiteness" and a listening subject "who hears and interprets the linguistic practices of whiteness of language-minoritized populations as deviant based on their racial positioning in society as opposed to any objective characteristics of their language use" (2015, p. 151). This complicates the idea of the white gaze in a way that challenges the practice and structure of whiteness instead of questioning the behavior of racialized people. Focusing on the listening subject as opposed to the speaking subject also helps to "understand how particular racialized people's linguistic practices can be stigmatized regardless of whether they correspond to Standard English" (2015, p. 152). To explore the white perceiving/listening subject, Rosa and Flores

specifically focus on three categories of students: long-term English learners, heritage language learners, and Standard English learners. These students differ in their institutionally determined levels of English proficiency

Rosa and Flores argue that additive approaches that focus on appropriateness not only "[marginalize] the linguistic practices of language-minoritized communities" but also relies on the false assumption that changing these people's language practices will eliminate racial hierarchies (2015, p. 155). Although long-term English learners, heritage language learners, and Standard English learners are often looked at or considered as separate groups of students, they share the same quality of having their language practice perceived as deficient by the white listening subject. In other words, the individual language practices that define those three groups in relation to the ideal white speaking subject do not override the racial hierarchy created by the white listening subject framing students in those three groups as linguistically deficient or racial Others.

There is this rigid distinction between what language practice is okay in a home or community setting and what is appropriate in an academic setting that is still based off of white listening norms here, and which heritage learning programs adhere to even though they are addressing a student's native or home language. For learners of Standard English (as opposed to "nonstandard" forms), this variety is presented as the form of English tied to social mobility. People can seek to validate nonstandard forms of English, such as AAVE, but it remains that Standard English naturalizes the white speaking subject's language practices and frame them as necessary for social mobility (2015).

Considering Rosa and Flores's discussion of these separate but overlapping groups of students, we can think about students on a university campus sorted into language classes that are supposedly appropriate for their language proficiency. At UT Austin, lower-division or more introductory Spanish course offerings are offered in tracks for non-native speakers of Spanish and heritage learners. Placement tests involve evaluating a student's ability to use academic Spanish ("PLACEMENT TESTS IN SPANISH OR PORTUGUESE") and the heritage learner track course descriptions explicitly state that in the courses "heritage learners study and analyze spoken, oral, and written Spanish in an academic setting," they work on "strategic" speaking, listening, reading, and writing skills, and "build sophisticated and advanced vocabulary" ("The Heritage Spanish Track"). This additive approach to developing Spanish proficiency on the surface seems great, but just as Rosa and Flores explain, it focuses on improving the proficiency to the standards of academic Spanish. These heritage learner students, and students who comprise the other two groups have a similar racial status in society which guides how the white listening subject perceives them (2015), especially in the context of UT Austin, an institution with whiteness baked into it.

Regimentations of Racial and Linguistic Categories

The third component addresses how language and race are categorized and represented or indexed in people. This often entails linking certain characteristics to certain racialized people, even if there is no objective basis for doing so. Rosa and Flores frame the co-naturalization of language and race as "a process of *raciolinguistic enregisterment*, whereby linguistic and racial forms are jointly

constructed as sets and rendered mutually recognizable as named languages/varieties and racial categories" (2017, p. 631). Enregisterment provides a way to look at how more specific linguistic concepts are related to each other and to people as well.

Mock Spanish and Inverted Spanglish

In addition to her work on the boundary between inner and outer spheres, Hill discusses what she refers to as Mock or Junk Spanish. Hill defines Junk Spanish as "a set of strategies for incorporating Spanish loan words into English in order to produce a jocular or pejorative key" (1995, p. 205). Mock Spanish as a racist discourse functions to racialize members of historically Spanish-speaking populations and "reproduce negative views of Spanish-speaking people" (Hill, 1995, p. 208; Hill, 1998, p. 683). Hill argues that to understand Mock Spanish, "interlocutors require access to very negative racializing representations of Chicanos and Latinos as stupid, politically corrupt, sexually loose, lazy, dirty, and disorderly" (1998, p. 683). One memorable example Hill gives is the phrase "Hasta la vista, baby" in the Terminator II movie, which since then has been popularized.

Hill also notes that Mock Spanish functions to "elevate whiteness" and construct white public space. It directly indexes a humorous, personable quality supposedly characteristic of the ideal "white public persona," and indirectly constructs white public space by permitting linguistic disorder to whites that would be seen as inappropriate for members of historically Spanish-speaking populations (1998, p. 684). Because of UT Austin's location and percentage of Hispanic students in the student body, it is reasonable to say that many students on campus

have had exposure to Latinx or Spanish-speaking people, even if not through direct interaction. If we consider this alongside the university's PWI environment, then arguably the UT Austin campus is a prime location for Mock Spanish to arise. In particular, a non-heritage Spanish classroom setting, where Spanish language usage is sanctioned, is where one can often hear butchered, inaccurate, and disorderly uses of Spanish by white students. However, white speakers will deny the racism inherent in Mock Spanish. For the Latinx, Spanish-speaking students, this type of behavior from other students may create an antagonistic or demeaning environment.

In contrast to Mock Spanish, Rosa discusses Inverted Spanglish, a related language practice that instead is subversive in how it maneuvers raciolinguistic registers, and complicates the usages and participants of Mock Spanish in light of the process of racialization. Rosa defines Inverted Spanglish as "a set of language practices that function as a unifying component of the ethnoracial experiences of many US Latinas/os" and that "invert both pronunciation patterns associated with Spanish lexical items and the ethnolinguistic identities associated with these linguistic forms" (2016, p. 74). While Mock Spanish produces whiteness through its mash up of English pronunciation and Spanish, Inverted Spanglish uses the mash up of English and Spanish to "produce US Latina/o ethnolinguistic identities that signal intimate familiarity" with both languages (2016, p. 74). By instead mocking English speakers, Inverted Spanglish flips the production of negative images and directs it towards the white speaking subject, creating a moment of solidarity between the participants. Instances of this linguistic practice may create supportive

mini-environments among heritage speakers within the larger potentially unsupportive classroom environment. The subversive nature of Inverted Spanglish also indicates how the boundaries Rosa and Flores describe within raciolinguistic enregisterment are fuzzy and delineated by the white speaking subject.

Racial and Linguistic Intersections and Assemblages

The fourth component notes the lack of focus on race in prior work and the importance of centering it alongside language. Rosa and Flores state however that the perspective's centering of race and language "is not intended to displace, avoid, or distract from important analysis" of other categories like socioeconomic class or sexuality" (p. 635). Language and race work together with these other categories in ways that result in differences in power and privilege. Thus, they simply cannot be examined as a unit isolated from other aspects of identity that can impact a raciolinguistic analysis. In addition, Rosa and Flores emphasize the importance of considering these other aspects of identities not as "intersecting in particular, quantifiable moments" but rather being more flexible or able to shift according to context (p. 636).

The university campus is again a prime place to see intersections of language, race, and other aspects of identity. A college campus for many students is often the first place they come into contact with students and other people different from them. Thus, there are opportunities on a university campus to facilitate, regulate, and guide interactions between different people that perhaps do not exist elsewhere. These opportunities might not necessarily lead to positive or

productive outcomes, but they nevertheless exist and create an interesting environment to explore this fourth component.

In this study I am focusing on the experiences of Latinx-identifying students, but I recognize that the umbrella of 'Latinx' includes many different lived experience based on race and other aspects of identity. It is my hope to parse out some of those differences as they relate to race and phenotype. In some ways, people referred to with the term Latino (or Latina/Latinx/Hispanic, although I am choosing to use Latinx over Hispanic) have a murkier racial experience than people who are Black or white, especially in Texas/the southern United States. Latinx people, specifically Mexican nationals, were at times designated as white or not for the purpose of restricting citizenship, marriage rights, and other legal benefits to "acceptable" candidates and maintaining conceptions of the ideal white citizen within the United States (Gross, 2009). Over the years, the US Census also constructed the category "Mexican" and later "of Hispanic origin/Latino" in ways that somewhat lumped together people of different races (Leeman, 2004). UT Austin follows the federal categorizations of race/ethnicity, and thus, they group Hispanic students together even if they also identify as Black, white, or anything else ("Diversity"). This creates a monolith of students within the university setting who identify as Hispanic or Latinx, yet can have completely different lived experiences based on race and racial dynamics. This creates instances of intersections of race and ethnicity in education, in which language can come into play as well.

Critical Race Theory in Education

Rosa and Flores reference intersectionality and critical racial analysis within their discussion of how language and race are produced together. These frameworks or modes of analysis have also been applied to education as well. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) attempt to theorize race to use it as a tool for understanding school inequity, drawing upon arguments from Critical Race Theory, the law, and social sciences to supplement educational research literature. Noting the lack of prior theorization of race in the context of education, they base their work on three assumptions: that "race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the United States," that "US society is based on property rights," and that "the intersection of race and property creates an analytic tool through which we can understand social (and consequently, school) inequity" (1995, p. 48). From these propositions, Ladson-Billings and Tate argue that race is a missing factor in explaining discrepancies in educational attainment between white students and students of color, and that access to property allows for access to better schools/education. Thus, taking into account these assertions, alongside the inclusion of the voices of the impacted, can provide a new way to address racism and educational inequity.

Similarly, Dixson and Rousseau (2005) address the progress made on critical race theorization of education and educational inequity. They argue that CRT constructs and ideas have not been used as much as they could be in education (2005). Dixson and Rousseau find in their review of the literature a varied focus on the different tenets of CRT. There has been an increased use of the construct of

'voice,' as some literature describes the perceptions and experiences of students of color at all ages (2005) as well as an increased understanding of how teachers employ colorblind ideologies to uphold whiteness and ignore racial difference which in turn negatively impacts students. They also note that certain aspects of CRT in legal studies have not been implemented within educational work. These include shifting from the qualitative methodology found in work on CRT in education at that point to the more "problem-centered" approach of CRT (2005, p. 22), and not only "[exposing] racism in education" but also "[proposing] radical solutions for addressing it" (2005, p. 23).

In their updated 2018 version of the article, Dixson and Rousseau note that there has been significant progress in the literature on CRT in education, but that the field has been experiencing some "growing pains similar to those of CRT in legal studies" related to a lack of boundaries and characteristics that would help operationalize CRT in education more effectively (2018, p. 122). They expand on their (2005) discussion of 'voice' by citing how inclusion of counternarratives from students of color, parents, and educators has provided more insight into educational inequity and forms of resistance, as well as note that the critique of colorblindness maintaining the status quo is still underexplored in "curriculum, educational policy, assessment, and teacher education" (2018, p. 125). Dixson and Rousseau also warn against "advancing [interest convergence] as a viable strategy for racial equity in education" due to certain misconceptions around it (2018, p. 127). In regard to whiteness as property, they suggest that people involved in education be more

conscious about how it is operationalized and intentional about not letting that happen at the expense of people of color.

Other scholarly work addresses or expands on Critical Race Theory in education as well. In the process of qualitative data collection on multiracial undergraduate students at a PWI, Harris (2016) finds that CRT is not necessarily an appropriate framework for studying the experiences of multiracial students (as opposed to monoracial students, specifically Black students), and thus expands and modifies CRT into Critical Multiracial Theory. Harris employs four CRT tenets and deviates from four other CRT tenets to account for multiracial students' experiences. This focus on multiracial students raises a question of intra-racial or intra-ethnic intersectionality. In looking at the experiences of Latinx identifying students, the present study inevitably parses some differences across phenotypical expression. Latinx students are not a monolith in culture, language, skin color, and therefore also in experience.

Patton (2016) also focuses CRT specifically within the context of higher education. She emphasizes the need for more CRT scholarship on higher education, and seeks to "disrupt racelessness in [higher] education," focusing on challenges associated with improving the academy while explicitly challenging racism and white supremacy in policy, curriculum, and other aspects of higher education (2016, p. 316). As US higher education is rooted in and cyclically reproduces racism and white supremacy, Patton argues that it has been a force in educational inequity. She notes that the academy is overwhelmingly white, the liberal ideal of diversity is more so a white-reifying appearance rather than effort at disrupting the

status quo, and that institutions of higher education oppress racially marginalized groups through negative campus climates. Critical Race Theory and its related frameworks are poised to address intersections and assemblages related to race, and thus provide a space into which we can address issues of language as well.

Latinx Students on PWI Campuses and Campus Climate

Prior research has found that minority students have different and more negative experiences than their white peers at the university level, and specifically at PWIs (Jones, Castellanos, & Cole, 2002; Bennett, Cole, & Thompson, 2000; Hurtado, 1992; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991) Race and educational environment are factors in these outcomes for marginalized students (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) Compared to other stressors that exist on a university campus, discrimination is unique in that it affects only minority students and creates a feeling of not belonging, consequently negatively impacting a student's academic performance (Cabrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Hagedorn, 1999).

In their broad survey of undergraduate students, Rankin and Reason (2005) find significant differences between the experiences and the perceptions on campus climate of students of color and white students. Students of color experience more harassment than their white counterparts, most often in the form of derogatory remarks. Students of color also perceive campus climate as "racist, hostile, and disrespectful" compared to white students who described it as "nonracist, friendly, and respectful" (2005, p. 52). These findings provide justification for exploring the experiences of Latinx, Spanish-speaking students' experiences with campus climate, self-perception, and others' perceptions. Students of color also view

classroom climates as unwelcoming for marginalized students more than white students (Rankin & Reason, 2005; Bennett, Cole, & Thompson, 2000).

Although Solórzano, Ceja, and Yosso (2000) focus on African American students specifically in their study, they find that racial microaggressions result in negative campus racial climate for these students. Nelson, Adams, and Salter (2013) find that white students were less likely to have accurate knowledge of historically documented incidents of racism than Black students, and that knowledge of historically documented racism significantly predicted racism perception.

Specifically, campus climate plays an important role in the experiences of minority and marginalized students. Campus climate can be defined as comprising four connected dimensions:

> "(1) an institution's historical legacy of inclusion or exclusion of various racial/ethnic groups; (2) its structural diversity in terms of numerical representation of various racial/ethnic groups; (3) the psychological climate of perceptions and attitudes between and among groups; and (4) the behavioral climate dimension, characterized by intergroup relations on campus" (Hurtado, Clayton-Pedersen, Allen, & Milem, 1998, p. 282).

Solórzano, Ceja, and Yosso (2000) additionally find that a positive campus racial climate includes: "(a) the inclusion of students, faculty, and administrators of color; (b) a curriculum that reflects the historical and contemporary experiences of people of color; (c) programs to support the recruitment, retention, and graduation of

students of color; and (d) a college/university mission that reinforces the institution's commitment to pluralism" (p. 62).

In critically examining whiteness in relation to campus climate, Hikido and Murray (2016) find that white students, despite being in a diverse and multicultural campus environment, minimize their racial difference through strategies such as colorblind talk, and using "unifying themes and ideals" that "[free] them from considering whiteness" and absolves their guilt (p. 406). Although the authors collected their data at a multiracial university, their finding that a racially diverse campus with institutional support for diversity does not ensure critical thinking about race and racial identities is important to consider in other types of university settings as well. This is relevant because Latinx students are not a monolith. The group comprises students of color as well as those who are phenotypically white or white passing. Understanding not only how students of color, but also white students experience campus climate and perception will provide a more comprehensive look towards the Latinx college student experience.

Hurtado (1992) also finds relevant conclusions about white students in comparison to students of color. White students are less likely than minority students to "place a high value on promoting racial understanding" (p. 554) and their perceptions of racial tension were influenced by minority enrollments. Hurtado also finds that greater institutional support for diversity and student-centered policies and priorities, such as student services and scholarship aid, can improve minorities' perceptions of campus racial climate. Hurtado (1994) focuses specifically on high-achieving Latinx students, she finds that despite having

performed well academically in the past, they still face some discrimination on college campuses. Experiences with discrimination were more likely to be reported by Latinx students at larger campuses. As in (2002), Hurtado (2004) finds that students who perceive administration and faculty to be more inclusive, supportive to students, and caring will perceive lower levels of racial or ethnic tension.

Yosso, Smith, Ceja, and Solórzano (2009) find as well that Latinx students navigate hostile and negative campus racial climates, and experience various types of racial microaggressions. The authors also report that despite Latinx students' feelings of rejection due to negative campus climate, they adapt and form "counterspaces" that "represent and reflect the cultural wealth of their home communities" (p. 680). Thus, these students build the skills necessary to navigate between their home communities and these small pockets of community on campus. Using a CRT and LatCrit framework, Von Robertson, Bravo, and Chaney (2016) report that racial microaggressions negatively impact campus racial climate and the adjustment of a small group of Latinx students at a southern PWI. Despite their experiences, the students in the study "successfully used counter-spaces to combat individual and institutionalized racism, to encourage one another, and validate their culture" (p. 732).

Jones, Castellanos, and Cole (2002) conducted a study very similar to the present study, examining the ethnic minority student experience at a four year PWI institution and their perceptions of campus climate and school resources among other things. Some survey questions in the present study were drawn from their work. Students questioned the university's commitment to diversity, and reported

an unwelcoming environment and consequently negative campus climate. Jones et al also found that Latinx students felt a need to represent underrepresented students and lead for the next generation of Latinx students. The students also noted that the university cross-cultural center provided a supportive, nurturing, and affirming space akin to a counter-space (Yosso et al., 2009). They did note, however, that the lack of resources granted to the cross-cultural center suggested a lack of commitment to diversity on the part of the university. Solórzano, Villalpando, and Oseguera (2005) report that 4-year institutions lack appropriate support systems for Latinx students, and those practices that do exist are based on "outdated notions of alleged race-neutral institutional integration" which frames these students as deficient (p. 286). The authors also find through their use of the CRT framework that practices and norms in higher education result in negative campus climates that continues to marginalize Latinx students.

Contestations of Racial and Linguistic Power Formations

The last component deals with ways to contest or challenge harmful raciolinguistic ideologies. Rosa and Flores explain that the framework shifts away from "the modification of the linguistic behaviors of racialized populations toward a dismantling of the white supremacy that permeated mainstream institutions as a product of colonialism" (p. 637). Instead of challenging these ideologies through more superficial or bandaid-like fixes, Rosa and Flores advocate for looking at these issues alongside the broader political and economic processes they are tied to.

Language as a resource to language as a struggle

In his 2017 book chapter on changing orientations within advocacy for bilingual education, Flores discusses how through its institutionalization bilingual education has become complicit in upholding the neoliberal status quo, including a capitalistic white supremacy, and suggests a new orientation for future advocacy. Flores situates his discussion within two commercial advertisements for Coca-Cola that exemplify the neoliberal "accumulation by dispossession" (p. 65). He coins the term "coke-ification of diversity" to describe a part of the production of neoliberalism where "a utopic vision of superficial celebrations of diversity [becomes] the barometer for measuring the state of human progress towards racial justice" (p. 65). In other words, diversity is commodified into a product that is taken from minoritized communities for the benefit of majoritized communities. The current orientation in bilingual education of language-as-resource, which frames linguistic diversity as something to be harnessed and used to advance US society. Thus, bilingual education, through its institutionalization to achieve these ends, has been coke-ified. Flores suggests shifting to a view of language as a struggle which "centers the perspectives of the language-minoritized communities who have the most to gain from these programs and the most to lose should they become Coke-ified" (p. 77). In doing so, we can foster a more equitable educational space for language-minoritized students, like Latinx, Spanish-speaking students, that works to rectify systemic and institutional issues.

As this review of prior literature finds, there exists a gap in the literature on Latinx, Spanish-speaking students' college experiences about the way language

impacts those same experiences. As a result, this project examines whether language does have an impact on these students' experiences, and what those experiences at UT Austin are. The project is guided by the following research questions.

Research Questions

- Does language use impact Spanish-speaking, Latinx college students' experiences with race on the UT Austin campus, a southern PWI?
- How do these students perceive their place within the university with regard to their racial/ethnic and linguistic identities?
- Do these students feel that their peers or other individuals on campus perceive them in negative or positive ways with regard to their racial/ethnic and linguistic identities?

Hypotheses

Based on my research questions, I hypothesize that the subgroup of self-identified students of color (those who have selected Black or Brown) within the whole sample will report more negative feelings and feel discomfort in interactions on campus compared to their Latinx, white identifying counterparts. In line with prior research and based on responses to perception-related questions, I hypothesize that Latinx, people of color students will report a more negative campus climate than their Latinx, white counterparts, who will report campus climate to be more positive despite their also identifying as Latinx. Because language can be closely

tied to a person's identity, I hypothesize that it has some sort of impact on these students' experiences, as opposed to no impact at all.

Theoretical Framework

Prior research that addresses Latinx, Spanish-speaking students' experiences on university campuses employ Critical Race Theory (CRT) and related frameworks, such LatCrit, Critical Multiracial Theory, and others, in their analyses. Despite the interdisciplinary nature of CRT that provides space to analyze language as an aspect of identity in conjunction with race, the prior research does not address language much. Considering how entwined language and race are, I will employ Rosa and Flores' raciolinguistic perspective (2017), which theorizes the "co-naturalization of language and race." This framework will allow me to give equal attention to both issues of language and race in my exploration of a particular population for which language and race are both important.

Rosa and Flores lay out five components to their raciolinguistic perspective. I intend to compare my study data to these five components to see what trends or themes in the data match up with them. Since prior research has focused more on race, I will be able to compare race-related conclusions of my data to that research. Rosa and Flores's components will be particularly useful when analyzing the more linguistic aspects of my conclusions, since the components explicitly address language. Ultimately, any analysis into the language and race related encounters and experiences of Latinx, Spanish-speaking students will only benefit by examining language and race together.

Positionality

As a white passing Mexican American woman, I have the privilege of walking around the UT Austin campus without having to worry about nasty, racially-targeted remarks or being accosted by groups of other white students. Whenever I speak Spanish in class or elsewhere on campus, my bilingualism is usually met with surprise or expressions like, “that’s so cool!” and not a negative reaction. Although my personal experiences with language and race are part of my motivation to carry out this work, they also inevitably limit it, as I will never know what it is like to be a student with darker skin than mine or who is distinctly marked as Latinx, either due to a name, accent, or some other characteristic.

I share a culture with many of UT Austin’s Latinx students, but I think it would be remiss for me to not use the privilege I have to bring attention to some of the issues and differences within the group of individuals who identify as Latinx. Too often Latinidad is seen as a monolithic quality, perhaps to the detriment of the group as a whole. Bringing attention to the different and differently privileged experiences within the Latinx umbrella is one way for me to help challenge stereotypical, harmful, and/or otherwise negative perceptions of Latinx individuals that swarm our daily lives. Although I still have much learning and work to do, I hope to bring attention to the experiences of my participants as much as possible.

Methods

Study Design

Considering the scope and limited time of this research project, this study employs only a survey questionnaire for data collection.[3] The timeline is August 2018 to May 2019. In the development of the survey, I adopted questions from a previously used Language Background and Brokering questionnaire (López, Mancha-Sumners, & Villatoro, in prep), and extended research questions from Jones, Castellanos, and Cole (2002). I also created my own questions. The survey was created using Qualtrics survey software, and distributed when necessary with a shareable link. Data collection began shortly after I received IRB approval. The survey requires approximately 10 to 15 minutes at most to complete. Topics addressed in the survey include language and racial background/identification, educational background, family background, perceptions of compositional diversity in high school and UT Austin, evolution of ethnic and cultural identity, and perception of campus climate.

Participants

Participants were recruited through social media (e.g., Facebook and GroupMe), email listserves, word of mouth, and through the UT Austin SONA system. Participants included 50[4] Latinx-identifying, Spanish-speaking, current students (M_{age} = 21, Age range = 18-40) at the University of Texas at Austin who were 18 years of age or older. Race was not a factor in participant selection criteria.

[3] Survey questions are included in Appendix A

[4] There were a total of 71 usable responses. We specifically looked at the 50 respondents who were coded as Latinx-POC and Latinx-White. The following demographics reflect all 71 responses

Based on responses to Question 44 on the survey instrument Ana Senior Thesis – Questionnaire, students were classified as Latinx-People of Color (Latinx-POC, N = 21) and Latinx-White (N = 29). Additional demographics for participants include the following:

Table 1: Participant Demographics

	N	**Percent**
Gender		
Female	51	71.8%
Male	18	25.35%
Non-Binary	1	1.41%
Other	1	1.41%
Class		
Freshman	11	15.49%
Sophomore	13	18.31%
Junior	19	26.76%
Senior	24	33.80%
Super Senior	2	2.82%
Graduate	2	2.82%
Place of Birth		
Bolivia	2	2.82%
Chile	1	1.41%
Colombia	2	2.82%
Guatemala	2	2.82%
Honduras	1	1.41%
Mexico	11	15.49%
Venezuela	3	4.23%
United States (average age of arrival to the US = 8.5 years old)	49	69.01%
First Language		
English	17	23.94%
Spanish	45	63.38%
Both English and Spanish	9	12.68%
Second Language		
English	29	43.94%
Spanish	12	18.18%
Both English and Spanish	4	6.06%
Other Language	7	10.60%

English/Spanish plus other language	14	21.21%
Age of L2 Acquisition		
Early bilingual (before age 13)	47	69.12%
Late Bilingual (at 13 or after)	12	12.24%
Both Early and Late Bilingual	9	13.24%
Ethnicity		
American	4	5.63%
Pan-Ethnic Term (Latinx, Hispanic with no nationality)	17	23.94%
Specific Ethnicity Term (Mexican, Mexican American, Chicanx)	11	15.49%
Multiple Identities	39	54.93%
Race		
Brown/Black	21	30.88%
White	30	44.12%
Asian or Native American	1	1.47%
Other	11	16.18%
At least 2 different of these categories	5	7.35%
Perception of Students of Same Ethnicity at UT		
50%	4	5.63%
75%	2	2.82%
Around 25%	49	69.01%
Less than a third	6	8.45%
Less than 10%	10	14.08%

Note: percentage totals may add up to more than 100% due to rounding

Measures and Materials

Latinx Student Experiences with Language and Race on Campus. The survey instrument included questions on personal background, linguistic background, racial and ethnic identification, perceptions of campus and classroom climate, self-perception on campus, and perception of how peers and other people on campus viewed the respondent. Questions 30-32, and 34-41 (see Table 2) were the questions that addressed these specifically. Questions 30, 31, and 32 (see Table

2) ask about the respondent's perception of campus climate, experience as a Latinx student, and perception of the ethnic/racial minority experience at UT Austin. Questions 34-37 (see Table 2) ask about the respondent's experiences in Spanish classes, non-language classes, and the general Spanish speaker experience at UT. For example, whether they experiences positive, negative, or neutral feelings in these contexts. Questions 38-41 (see Table 2) ask about any discomfort or negative emotions felt in class because of ethnicity/race, Spanish speaking skills, whether those feelings were due to interactions with students or instructors, and how those feelings impacted the respondent. Feelings could include, frustration, anger, shame, sadness, and more. Questions 30-32, and 34-37 were measured on a 1 (bad) to 5 (good) response scale. Questions 38-41 were measured on a Yes/No scale. All of these questions were derived from Jones, Castellanos, & Cole (2002) and/or inspired from that study's research and survey questions.

Table 2: Sample Survey Questions

#	Question	Response Scale
30	Perception of campus climate as it relates to racial/ethnic minorities	1=bad to 5-good
31	Experience as Latinx student at UT Austin	1=bad to 5-good
32	Perception of racial/ethnic minorities experiences in Spanish language courses	1=bad to 5-good
34	Respondent experience in Spanish language courses	1=bad to 5-good
35	Respondent experience in non-language courses	1=bad to 5-good
36	Spanish speaker experience at UT	1=bad to 5-good
37	Respondent Spanish speaking experience at UT	1=bad to 5-good
38	Negative emotion resulting from race or ethnicity in Spanish courses	Yes/No

39	Negative emotion resulting from Spanish language skills in Spanish courses	Yes/No
40	If negative emotion in class, due to interaction with peers/instructor?	Yes/No
41	If negative emotion in class, did it impact ability/desire to learn?	Yes/No

The Everyday Discrimination Scale (Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson (1997). This scale measures experiences with discrimination in various contexts, such as perceptions of treatment or respect from others, experience in service oriented facilities, such as University Health Services, and forms of microaggressions. The question is measured on a five point Likert scale, where 1 is Never and 5 is Always.

Procedures

Participants voluntarily came to the LLAMA Psycholinguistic and Sociolinguistic Research Lab and answered a survey on linguistic and racial/ethnic background, campus experiences, and perceptions. Participant responses were also collected through individual completion of the survey. Participants who completed the survey on their own accessed it through the distributable link. Participants who completed the survey in the lab signed up through SONA to participate in a variety of LLAMA Lab experiments for course credit. Participants were informed of the study's purpose, risks and benefits, and were given informed consent. Participants who completed the survey on their own and not in the lab received no compensation for their participation.

Data Analysis

Data analysis included independent samples t-tests run on questions presented in Table 2 comparing responses for Latinx-POC and Latinx-White students. Although survey data does not necessarily lend itself to richer and more detailed analysis in the way qualitative data can, through some descriptive analysis I address more qualitative trends or commonalities that arise in the survey responses. The statistical analysis undertaken addresses more of the ethnic/racial aspects of the research questions, as those results can be compared to the results of prior research conducted through Critical Race Theory. More of the linguistic aspects of the research questions will be addressed through descriptive analysis of the results.

Results

The following are the results of the independent samples t-tests conducted on Questions 30-32, and 34-41.

Q30 – Perception of campus climate as it relates to racial/ethnic minorities

For Q30, Latinx-White (M = 3.41; SD = .983) rated more positive campus climate than Latinx-POC (M = 2.81; SD = 1.25), t (48) = -.1.914, p = .062. This effect approached significance. **See Figure 1.**

Q31 – Experience as Latinx student at UT Austin

For Q31, the difference between Latinx-White (M = 3.55; SD = .985) was not significantly different from Latinx-POC (M = 3.33; SD = 1.065), t (48) = -0.748, $p > .05$

Q32 – Perception of racial/ethnic minorities experiences in Spanish language courses

For Q32, the difference between Latinx-White (M = 3.38; SD = 1.015) was not significantly different from Latinx-POC (M = 3.76; SD = 1.221), t (48) =1.208, $p > .05$.

Q34-Respondent experience in Spanish language courses

For Q34, the difference between Latinx-White (M = 4.14; SD = 1.215) was not significantly different from Latinx-POC (M = 4.5; SD = .905), t (17) = .733, $p > .05$.

Q35-Respondent experience in non-language courses

For Q35, Latinx-White students (M = 4.48; SD = .7), rated more positive experiences at UT as it related to non-language classes than Latinx-POC (M = 3.95; SD =.887), t (45) = -2.297, p = .026. **See Figure 2**

Q36-Spanish speaker experience at UT

For Q36, the difference between Latinx-White (M = 3.41; SD = .797) was not significantly different from Latinx-POC (M = 3.75; SD = .716), t (45) = 1.52, $p > .05$.

Q37-Respondent Spanish speaking experience at UT

For Q37, the difference between Latinx-White (M = 3.81; SD = 1.11) was not significantly different from Latinx-POC (M = 3.7; SD = .979), t (45) = -0.368, $p > .05$.

Q38 Negative emotion resulting from race or ethnicity in Spanish courses

For Q38, the difference between Latinx-White (*M* = .33; *SD* = .5) was not significantly different from Latinx-POC (*M* = .25; *SD* = .463), *t* (15) =-0.355, *p* >.05.

Q39-Negative emotion resulting from Spanish language skills in Spanish courses

For Q39, Latinx-White students (M = .67, SD = .5) reported more discomfort/negative emotion in Spanish speaking classes than Latinx-POC (M = .13, SD = .354), *t* (15) = -2.546, p = .022. **See Figure 3**

Q40-If negative emotion in class, due to interaction with peers/instructor

For Q40, the difference between Latinx-White (*M* = .48; *SD* = .509) was not significantly different from Latinx-POC (*M* = .45; *SD* = .51), *t* (47) = -0.221, *p* >.05.

Q41-If negative emotion in class, did it impact ability/desire to learn?

For Q41, the difference between Latinx-White (*M* = .38; *SD* = .494) was not significantly different from Latinx-POC (*M* = .3; *SD* = .47), *t* (47) = -0.563, *p* >.05.

Everyday Discrimination Scale

A discrimination composite score was calculated by averaging all responses on the discrimination subscale. Independent samples t-tests revealed a significant difference between Latinx-White (*M* = 1.625; *SD* = .484) and Latinx-POC students (*M* = 1.988; *SD* = .594), *t* (44) = 2.276, *p* =.028. Latinx-White students reported experiencing more discrimination than Latinx-POC students reported. **See Figure 4**.

Figure 1: Perception of Campus Climate as it relates to Racial/Ethnic Minorities

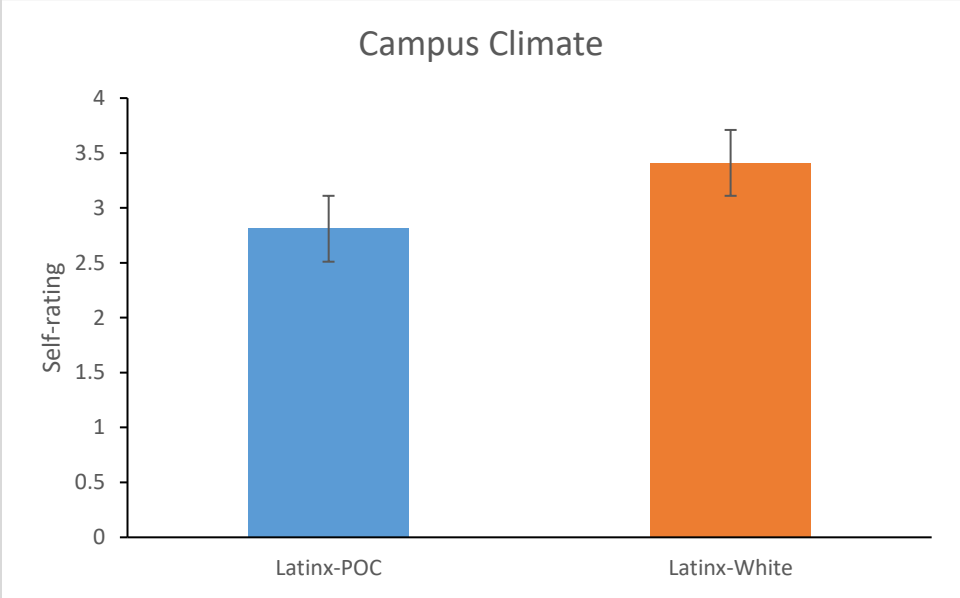


Figure 2: Respondent Experiences in Non-language classes

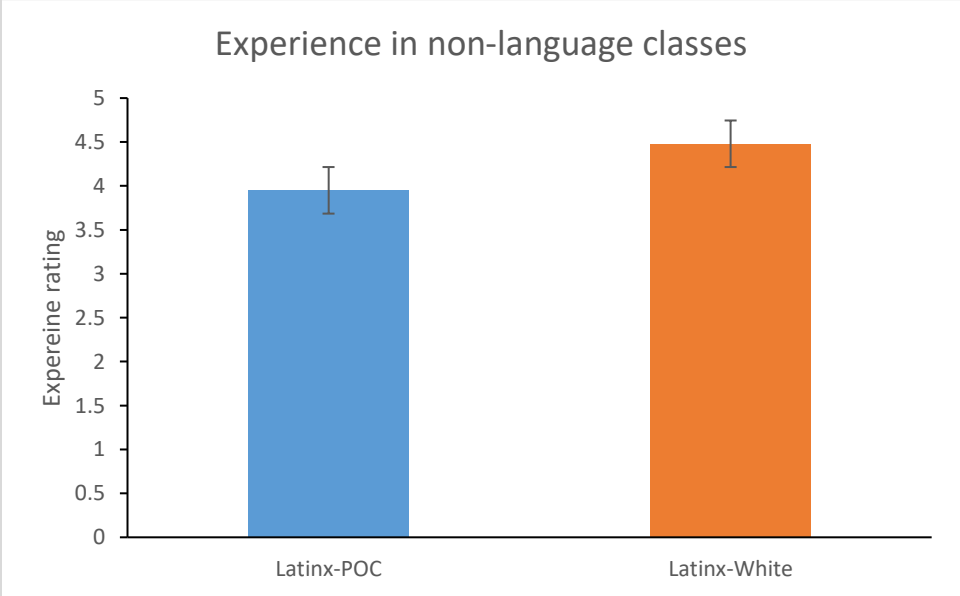


Figure 3: Negative Emotion Resulting from Spanish language skills in Spanish courses

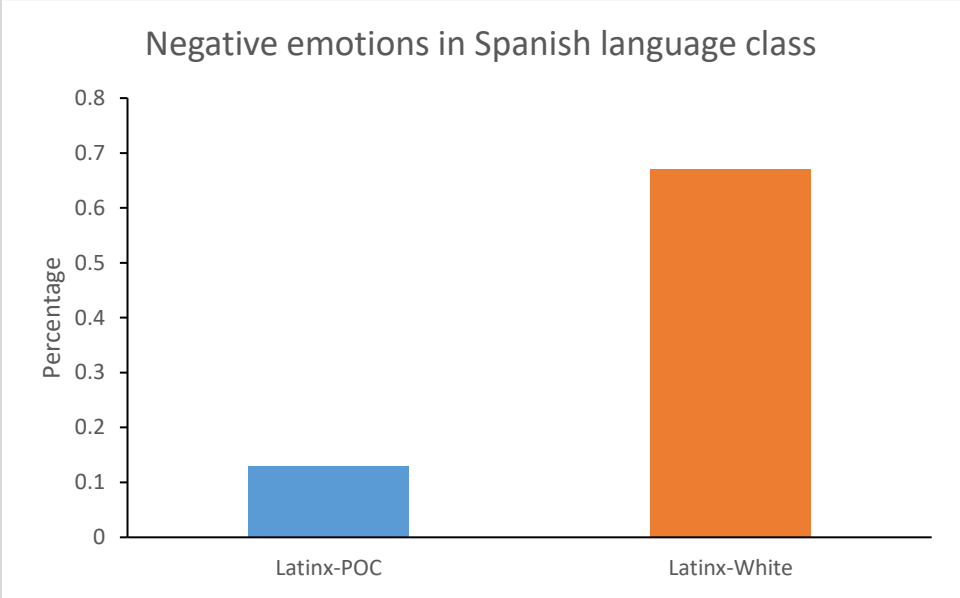
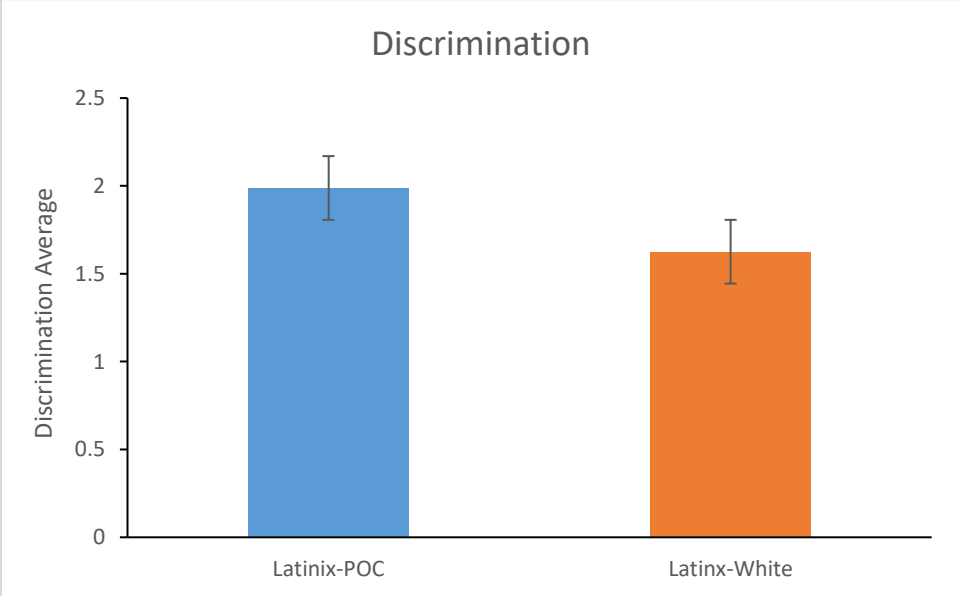


Figure 4: Discrimination Scale



Descriptive Analysis

Going back to the demographics table in the methods section provides more context for the survey respondents. Starting with gender, there was almost a 3:1 ratio of women respondents to male respondents. In this sense, the respondents were not reflective of UT Austin's student body. In terms of place or birth/origin, 69% of respondents were born in the United States. Despite this vast majority, the remaining respondents reported places of birth in seven other Latin American countries. This begins to challenge the prevailing myth of a monolithic Latinx population. There is a big difference in national origin, and therefore cultural practices across all these people who generally identify as Latinx. There were almost three times as many respondents who reported Spanish as their first language than English. That said, almost 13% of respondents acquired Spanish and English simultaneously. This highlights the fact that many people born in the United States do not start to learn English until later in life, challenging the notion that the United States is an English-speaking nation. Most of those respondents learned their second language before the age of 13, however.

Respondent selection of racial and ethnic identifiers was also notable. About 44% of respondents self-identified as white, and about 31% of respondents self-identified as Black or Brown. Most respondents selected multiple ethnic identifiers, however, choosing combinations of pan-ethnic and more specific terms. About 24% of respondents went with only a pan-ethnic term, and fewer people, about 15%, selected only a specific national term. The large number of respondents

who reported a mix of terms suggests again that the Latinx experience is not one, but rather varied and unique.

Lastly, 69% of respondents reported that they perceived UT Austin's student body to be around 25% the same ethnicity as theirs. If we recall, the university's reported Fall 2018 demographics ("Facts and Figures"), UT Austin says that 20.9% of the student body is Hispanic. This is not far off from the majority of respondent's selection of 25%. However, a strict survey prevents the data from revealing more detailed information about how the respondent's ethnic identify might compare to UT Austin's reported racial/ethnic categories, especially considering the discrepancy between UT Austin's chosen category of 'Hispanic' and the various options that were available to survey respondents. Either way, Latinx students are aware that the university's student body is mostly not like them.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to learn more about the experiences of Latinx, Spanish-speaking students on the UT Austin while factoring in language as a significant aspect of their experience. The results of the study present both expected and curious results that do support some of my hypotheses and answer my research questions. Latinx students of color in the sample did report campus climate as being more negative. While Latinx students of color may report some negative feelings or discomfort, Latinx white students reported feeling more discrimination and discomfort in Spanish classes. This suggests that, barring any other factors not

addressed in this study that may impact the result, that language may have a role in the results.

Regarding the research questions, the survey results provide answers to the effects of language impact, self-perception and feelings towards others' perceptions, and campus climate. Those respondents who had been recoded as Latinx-White reported a more positive campus climate than their Latinx-POC counterparts. This result follows prior research (Jones, Castellanos, & Cole, 2002; Hurtado, 1992; Hurtado, 1994; Bennett, Cole, & Thompson, 2000; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991) that finds that white students consider campus climate to be more positive compared to students of color, who find their university's campus climate, particularly at predominantly white universities, hostile, more negative, and less welcoming. This result is not particularly surprising, rather it is somewhat expected considering UT Austin's campus environment. Although the result only approached significance, it signals that UT Austin, like other universities that have historically catered only to white students, still does not provide an equitable and accessible environment for students of color compared to white students. Relatedly, this demonstrates Rosa and Flores's focus on how historical and colonial legacies impact raciolinguistic ideologies, particularly as we see them in the context of UT Austin's campus, as students are picking up on these systemic inequities that impact their day to day experiences.

Latinx-White students reported on their general experience on the UT Austin campus with regard to non-language classes more positive than their Latinx-POC counterparts. Like Question 30, this result reaffirms the research findings

mentioned above that find that campus climate is seen as more negative by students of color and more positive by white students. The result also supports the assertion by Rankin and Reason (2005) that classroom climates are also viewed as less welcoming by marginalized students. Although my hypothesis referred to the more general term campus climate, we might conclude that classrooms are not just physically part of campus but act as an extension of the university campus climate even when the classroom is facilitated by an instructor or person who has goals of being inclusive and welcoming.

The third result is perhaps the most interesting of the three. Latinx-White students reported more discomfort or negative feelings than their Latinx-POC counterparts in Spanish-speaking classrooms. It is important to note that of the 50 survey responses analyzed, only 17 respondents had taken a Spanish class at UT Austin. This result does not support my hypothesis that it would be the students of color who experience more of these feelings. However, this does not necessarily mean that the hypothesis is wrong. For example, it could be that the discrepancy between the responses of both groups is due to underreporting and thus is not an accurate reflection of how the students feel. If any underreporting were a symptom of a general lack of participation or involvement in academic activities (participating in research may be considered an academic activity), or otherwise less than ideal adjustment to college, then there may be a link to negative campus climate (Hurtado, Carter, & Spuler, 1996). Ultimately, the result may also just be representative of a higher number of white students responding to that question compared to students of color, especially since UT Austin is a PWI.

Barring the effect from any other potentially related factors, such as socioeconomic status or language proficiency, it seems that these students Spanish language use is having some sort of impact on their experiences within the classroom. Possible reasons for this recall Rosa and Flores's discussions of how language indexes a certain, marked racial Otherness. Instead of the reverse happening, where language use gets racialized according to the person speaking, as in the case of the Latina principal Rosa describes, the ethnoracial associations of the language mark the individual even if they are white, like the Latinx-White students in question. There might be a layer of mismatched expectations or something impostor syndrome-esque as well. The Latinx-White student, as someone not "expected" to speak Spanish maybe feels discomfort at the possibility of having to navigate that inconsistency, being marked as racially Other through the disclosure of a native Spanish proficiency, or living up to the expectation of being a proficient native speaker of Spanish. This third effect calls for future analysis and study. Critical Whiteness Studies, another theoretical branch of CRT, might be a relevant body of work to consult in this continued exploration.

Limitations

There are significant limitations to the present study. First, the study employed a more quantitative survey design that precluded the collection of more detail rich, narrative interview data. The scope and time frame of the study guided the decision to use a survey questionnaire, and although the survey turned up interesting results, there is a lack of contextual information for individual

respondents, such as getting more into the why of their reasoning for identifying certain ways, that could shed more light on the interpretation of the results. Secondly, within the survey instrument specifically, there was no question asking about language proficiency in any format. Having such information, either through a self-evaluated response or based on a respondent's Spanish class level, could potentially account for certain discrepancies in the data, and overall provide a more detailed picture of the respondent sample. Additionally, of the 50 particular responses analyzed for this study, only 17 were from students who had actually taken a Spanish language class at UT Austin. Although the effect was significant, it would be helpful to have a larger sample size. Thirdly, the options provided in some of the survey questions, such as the race question, were overly simplistic and could potentially be formulated in more appropriate ways. Fourth, regarding the administration of the survey, there was inconsistency in answers to some of the questions even though they were all voluntary. One respondent might have answered all the questions, while another may have stopped answering before the end. This resulted in different numbers of responses for different questions on which t-tests were carried out, despite there being 50 overall responses looked at.

Future Directions

There are many approaches this work could take in the future. Perhaps most importantly, conducting interviews with participants would provide the richer, detailed narrative that would provide better context for responses. Employing an interview based study design would also align with Critical Race Theory's core

tenet of focusing on the experiences of people of color, bringing attention to their experiential knowledge and the value it provides to a critical, structural analysis of systems of oppression. Additionally, future work would address the significant limitations of this study, including the lack of certain questions for participants, such as the language ability/proficiency questions, and obtaining a larger number of participants.

In terms of future subtopics to address, some relevant ones include different generational experiences (i.e., first-gen, immigrant, etc), the impact of where a participant spent their formative years, such as in a location where Spanish usage was the norm as opposed to very clearly minoritized to English, or if there were more people of color or white people in the area. Another important factor to consider is how class and socioeconomic status factor into the ability of a participant to access resources and experience a university environment differently. Drawing on the cultural practices of a participant's specific ethnicity or place they are from could be an interesting angle as well.

Conclusion

This study has both confirmed prior established research, and seems to have revealed a tip of an iceberg of sorts. Latinx students of color are still experiencing systemic racism and inequity in their time at the university. Unlike past research findings, this study has revealed that there is something occurring between Spanish use and race that negatively impacts some students' experiences. There is considerable work that still needs to be done—analyses that address other relevant

factors related to identity and college student development, but this study provides some initial insight into how language and race can intersect and influence student experiences in ways that either on its own does not. Furthermore, this study reveals a little more about the Latinx student university experience and helps address the gap in the research that can influence how we formulate policy, resources, and other forms of support to improve the lives of Latinx students.

Appendix A

20190115 - Ana Senior Thesis - Questionnaire

Latinx Student Experiences with Language and Race on Campus

You are being invited to participate in a research study about Latinx student experiences with language and race on the UT Austin campus. The purpose of this study is to investigate if students have negative experiences regarding their race and Spanish language usage when interacting with peers and instructors in educational settings. Your participation will require approximately 10 minutes.

There are no foreseeable risks to participating, although you may feel uncomfortable reporting negative feelings or behaviors. You may skip any and all questions that you do not wish to answer. There are no direct benefits other than contributing to research and scholarship. Taking part in the study is completely voluntary, and if you choose to participate you may withdraw at any time. Your responses will be kept confidential and data will be securely stored in a USB device by the principal investigator. Any report of this research that is made available to the public will not include any data with identifying information that could associate it with you or your participation.

If you have any questions at any point during the study, you may contact the principal investigator at acmitchell@utexas.edu. Feel free to print a copy of this consent page for your records.

Clicking the orange button below to continue indicates that you are 18 years of age or older, and indicates your consent to participate in this study.

Thank you!

Q5 Today's Date

_____

Q48 What is your age?

_____

Q4 What is your gender?

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Other (feel free to write in) (3)

_____

- Do not wish to disclose (4)

Q49 What year are you?

- Freshman (1)
- Sophomore (2)
- Junior (3)
- Senior (4)
- Super senior (5)
- Graduate (6)

Q6 What is your major or area of study?

_____

Q7 What is your minor, if applicable?

_____

Q8 What is your current GPA?

- 3.5 or higher (1)
- 3.0 - 3.4 (2)
- 2.5 - 2.9 (3)
- 2.0 - 2.4 (4)
- 1.9 or lower (5)

Q9 Were you born in the United States?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Skip To: Q10 If Were you born in the United States? = No

Skip To: Q50 If Were you born in the United States? = Yes

Q10 Place of birth

_____

Display This Question:

If Were you born in the United States? = No

Q11 How old were you when you came to the United States?

_____

Q54 **Parent and Grandparent Information**

Q50 Parent 1's gender

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Other (3) _____

Q12 Parent 1's place of birth (if known)

- United States (1)
- Elsewhere (2) _____

Q13 Parent 1's highest level of schooling achieved (if known)

- Graduate/Professional Degree (1)
- Bachelor's Degree (2)
- Highschool (3)
- Some K-12 Schooling (4)

Q51 Parent 2's gender

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Other (3) _____

Q14 Parent 2's place of birth (if known)

- United States (1)
- Elsewhere (2) _____

Q15 Parent 2's highest level of schooling achieved (if known)

- Graduate/Professional Degree (1)
- Bachelor's Degree (2)
- Highschool (3)
- Some K-12 Schooling (4)

Q52 Gender of Grandparent A on Parent 1's side

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Other (3)

Q53 Place of birth of Grandparent A on Parent 1's side

- US (1)
- Elsewhere (2) _____

Q55 Gender of Grandparent B on Parent 1's side

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Other (3)

Q56 Place of birth of Grandparent B on Parent 1's side

- US (1)
- Elsewhere (2) _____

Q57 Gender of Grandparent A on Parent 2's side

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Other (3)

Q58 Place of birth of Grandparent A on Parent 2's side

- US (1)
- Elsewhere (2) _____

Q59 Gender of Grandparent B on Parent 2's side

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Other (3)

Q60 Place of birth of Grandparent B on Parent 2's side

- US (1)
- Elsewhere (2) _____

Q19 How do you define yourself in terms of ethnic or cultural identity to others outside your ethnic group? (select all that apply)

- Mexican (1)
- Mexican American (2)
- Latina/o/x (3)
- Hispanic (4)
- Puerto Rican (5)
- Cuban American (6)
- Chicana/o/x (7)
- American (8)
- Other (please specify) (9)

_____

Q44 How do you define yourself in terms of racial identity to others outside your racial group? (feel free to describe further) (select all that apply)

- Black (1) _____
- Brown (2) _____
- Asian (3) _____
- Native American (4) _____
- white (5) _____
- other (6) _____

Q20 In your high school, about what percentage of students were the same ethnicity as you?

- less than 10% (1)
- around 25% (2)
- around a third (3)
- 50% (4)
- 75% (5)

Q21 Here at UT, about what percentage of students are the same ethnicity as you?

- less than 10% (1)
- around 25% (2)
- around a third (3)
- 50% (4)
- 75% (5)

Q22 What is your first language? i.e. what you first learned to speak (if more than one, state all)

_____

Q23 What other languages do you speak? (if more than one, state all)

_____

Q24 When did you learn your other language(s)?

- 0-4 years (1)
- 5-8 years (2)
- 9-12 years (3)
- 13+ years (4)

Q25 Compared to when you first started at UT, how has your view of your ethnic or cultural identity changed?

	more (1)	less (2)	no change in awareness (3)
I am ___ conscious of my ethnic identity now than when I first started at UT (choose one) (1)	○	○	○
I am ___ proud of my ethnic identity now than when I first started at UT (choose one) (2)	○	○	○

Q26 Please select one as appropriate:

	separated from (1)	integrated with (2)
I keep my heritage culture ___ the culture of the majority UT community (choose one) (1)	○	○

Q27 Please select one as appropriate:

	comfortable (1)	uncomfortable (2)
I am ___ moving between two cultures (choose one) (1)	○	○

Q29 I identify culturally most strongly with ___

_____

Q30 Please rate your perception of the campus climate as it relates to ethnic or racial minorities at UT (a predominantly white institution)

- 1 - negative (1)
- 2-somewhat negative (2)
- 3 - neutral (3)
- 4-somewhat positive (4)
- 5-positive (5)

Q31 Please rate your own experience as a Latinx identifying student at UT (a predominantly white institution)

- 1 - negative (1)
- 2-somewhat negative (2)
- 3 - neutral (3)
- 4-somewhat positive (4)
- 5-positive (5)

Q32 Please rate the ethnic or racial minority experience at UT as it relates to classes themselves, particularly Spanish language classrooms

- 1 - negative (1)
- 2-somewhat negative (2)
- 3 - neutral (3)
- 4-somewhat positive (4)
- 5 - positive (5)

Q33 Have you taken a Spanish language class at UT? (either currently or in the past)

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Skip To: Q35 If Have you taken a Spanish language class at UT? (either currently or in the past) = No

Q34 Please rate your own experience at UT as it relates to your Spanish language classes

- 1 - negative (1)
- 2-somewhat negative (2)
- 3 - neutral (3)
- 4-somewhat positive (4)
- 5 - positive (5)

Q35 Please rate your experience at UT as it relates to your non-language classes

- 1 - negative (1)
- 2-somewhat negative (2)
- 3 - neutral (3)
- 4-somewhat positive (4)
- 5 - positive (5)

Q36 Please rate the Spanish speaker experience at UT as it relates to classes themselves

- 1 - negative (1)
- 2-somewhat negative (2)
- 3 - neutral (3)
- 4-somewhat positive (4)
- 5 - positive (5)

Q37 Please rate your own Spanish speaking experience at UT as it relates to your classes

- 1 - negative (1)
- 2- somewhat negative (2)
- 3 - neutral (3)
- 4- somewhat positive (4)
- 5 - positive (5)

Display This Question:

If Have you taken a Spanish language class at UT? (either currently or in the past) = Yes

Q38 Have you ever felt discomfort or another potentially negative emotion because of your ethnicity or race in a Spanish language class?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Display This Question:

If Have you taken a Spanish language class at UT? (either currently or in the past) = Yes

Q39 Have you ever felt discomfort or another potentially negative emotion because of your Spanish speaking skills in a Spanish language class?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q40 If you have experienced discomfort or a negative emotion in a class, was it due to an interaction with another student(s) or instructor?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q41 If you have experienced discomfort or a negative emotion, did this impact your ability or desire to learn in class?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q42 Discrimination on Campus

	Never (1)	Rarely (2)	Sometimes (3)	Often (4)	Always (5)
1. I am treated with less courtesy than other people (1)	○	○	○	○	○
2. I am treated with less respect than other people (2)	○	○	○	○	○
3. I receive poorer service than other people at dining halls/cafes, stores, the main building, UHS, or other university facilities (3)	○	○	○	○	○
4. People act as if they think I am not smart (4)	○	○	○	○	○
5. People act as if they are afraid of me (5)	○	○	○	○	○
6. People act as if I am dishonest (6)	○	○	○	○	○
7. People act as if they are better than I am (7)	○	○	○	○	○
8. I am called names or insulted (8)	○	○	○	○	○
9. I am threatened or harassed (9)	○	○	○	○	○

Works Cited

Allen, R. (2018, December 06). UT to re-erect statue of James Hogg after removing it in 2017 because of Confederate ties. Retrieved April 27, 2019, from https://www.dallasnews.com/news/higher-education/2018/12/06/ut-re-erect-statue-james-hogg-after-removing-2017-confederate-ties

Alim, H. S., Rickford, J. R., & Ball, A. F. (2016). *Raciolinguistics: How language shapes our ideas about race*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bennett, C., Cole, D., & Thompson, J. N. (2000). Preparing teachers of color at a predominantly White university: A case study of project TEAM. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *16*(4), 445-464.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006). *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (1997). Rethinking racism: Toward a structural interpretation. *American sociological review*, 465-480.

Bourke, B. (2016). Meaning and Implications of Being Labelled a Predominantly White Institution. *College & University*, *91*(3).

Brandzel, A. L. (2016). *Against citizenship: the violence of the normative*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Brown, M. C., & Dancy, E. T. (2010). Predominantly white institutions. *Encyclopedia of African American education*, *1*, 523-526.

Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse studies*, *7*(4-5), 585-614.

Cabrera, A. F., Nora, A., Terenzini, P. T., Pascarella, E., & Hagedorn, L. S. (1999). Campus racial climate and the adjustment of students to college: A comparison between White students and African-American students. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *70*(2), 134-160.

Demographic profile of Hispanics in Texas, 2014. (n.d.). Retrieved March 26, 2019, from Pew Research Center Hispanic Trends website: http://www.pewhispanic.org/states/state/tx/

Dixson, A. D., & Rousseau, C. K. (2005). And we are still not saved: Critical race theory in education ten years later. *Race ethnicity and education*, *8*(1), 7-27.

Dixson, A. D., & Rousseau Anderson, C. (2018). Where are we? Critical race theory in education 20 years later. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *93*(1), 121-131.

Diversity. (n.d.). *The University of Texas at Austin.* Retrieved March 26, 2019, from https://www.utexas.edu/about/diversity

Dunbar, W. (2012, March 28). 'Daily Texan' Protest over Trayvon Martin Cartoon. *KUT 90.5*. Retrieved March 27, 2019, from https://www.kut.org/post/daily-texan-protest-over-trayvon-martin-cartoon

Facts & Figures. (2018, November 2). *The University of Texas at Austin.* Retrieved March 26, 2019, from https://www.utexas.edu/about/facts-and-figures

Flores, N. (2017). From Language-as-Resource to Language-as-Struggle. In *Language, Education, and Neoliberalism* (pp. 62-81). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Flores, N. (2016). A tale of two visions: Hegemonic whiteness and bilingual education. *Educational Policy*, *30*(1), 13-38.

Flores, N., & Rosa, J. (2019). Bringing Race Into Second Language Acquisition. *The Modern Language Journal*, *103*, 145-151.

Flores, N., & Rosa, J. (2015). Undoing appropriateness: Raciolinguistic ideologies and language diversity in education. *Harvard Educational Review*, *85*(2), 149-171.

Gross, A. J. (2009). *What blood won't tell*. Harvard University Press.

Harris, J. C. (2016). Toward a critical multiracial theory in education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *29*(6), 795-813.

Hikido, A., & Murray, S. B. (2016). Whitened rainbows: How white college students protect whiteness through diversity discourses. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *19*(2), 389-411.

Hill, J. H. (1998). Language, race, and white public space. *American anthropologist*, *100*(3), 680-689.

Hill, J. H. (1995). Junk Spanish, covert racism, and the (leaky) boundary between public and private spheres. *Pragmatics. Quarterly Publication of the International Pragmatics Association (IPrA)*, *5*(2), 197-212.

Hurtado, S., Clayton-Pedersen, A. R., Allen, W. R., & Milem, J. F. (1998). Enhancing campus climates for racial/ethnic diversity: Educational policy and practice. *The Review of Higher Education*, *21*(3), 279-302.

Hurtado, S., Carter, D. F., & Spuler, A. (1996). Latino student transition to college: Assessing difficulties and factors in successful college adjustment. *Research in higher education*, *37*(2), 135-157.

Hurtado, S. (1994). The institutional climate for talented Latino students. *Research in Higher Education*, *35*(1), 21-41.

Hurtado, S. (1992). The campus racial climate: Contexts of conflict. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *63*(5), 539-569.

Issues. (2018, January 05). Retrieved May 6, 2019, from https://www.aclutx.org/en/issues

Jaramillo, C., & Cannizzo, M. (2016, April 4). UT students in racially motivated assault appeal University disciplinary process. *The Daily Texan.* Retrieved March 27, 2019, from http://www.dailytexanonline.com/2016/03/29/ut-students-in-racially-motivated-assault-appeal-university-disciplinary-process

Jones, L., Castellanos, J., & Cole, D. (2002). Examining the ethnic minority student experience at predominantly White institutions: A case study. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, *1*(1), 19-39.

Karacostas, C. (2018a, March 5). Student Government Supreme Court declares executive alliance results invalid. *The Daily Texan.* Retrieved from http://www.dailytexanonline.com/2018/03/04/student-government-supreme-court-declares-executive-alliance-results-invalid

Karacostas, C. (2018b, March 6). Guneez–Hannah executive alliance addresses campaign environment on social media. *The Daily Texan.* Retrieved March

27, 2019, from http://www.dailytexanonline.com/2018/03/05/guneez–hannah-executive-alliance-addresses-campaign-environment-on-social-media

Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W. F. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers college record*, *97*(1), 47.

Leeman, J. (2004). Racializing language: A history of linguistic ideologies in the US Census. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *3*(3), 507-534.

López, B.G., Mancha-Sumners, E., & Villatoro, A. (in preparation). Language Brokering and Bilingual Index. Unpublished manuscript.

McGee, K. (2019, January 07). Looking at Higher Education Funding in Texas-and How We Got Here. *The Alcalde.* Retrieved March 25, 2019, from https://alcalde.texasexes.org/2019/01/looking-at-higher-education-funding-in-texas-and-how-we-got-here/.

Miranda, C., & Morales, L. (2019, April 18). Hispanic faculty found to be underrepresented, underpaid. Retrieved April 29, 2019, from https://www.dailytexanonline.com/2019/04/18/hispanic-faculty-found-to-be-underrepresented-underpaid.

Mission & Values. (n.d.). *The University of Texas at Austin.* Retrieved March 26, 2019, from https://www.utexas.edu/about/mission-and-values.

Najmabadi, S. (2018, February 20). A group of Texas lawmakers wants to fix higher education funding - but it won't be easy. *The Texas Tribune.* Retrieved March 25, 2019, from https://www.texastribune.org/2018/02/20/formula-funding-hearing/

Nelson, J. C., Adams, G., & Salter, P. S. (2013). The Marley hypothesis: Denial of racism reflects ignorance of history. *Psychological science*, *24*(2), 213-218.

Page, H., & Thomas, R. B. (1994). White public space and the construction of white privilege in US health care: fresh concepts and a new model of analysis. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, *8*(1), 109-116.

Pascarella, E. T., & Terenzini, P. T. (1991). *How College Affects Students: Findings and Insights from Twenty Years of Research. Vol.[1]*.

Patton, L. D. (2016). Disrupting postsecondary prose: Toward a critical race theory of higher education. *Urban Education*, *51*(3), 315-342.

Page, H., & Thomas, R. B. (1994). White public space and the construction of white privilege in US health care: fresh concepts and a new model of analysis. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, *8*(1), 109-116.

PLACEMENT TESTS IN SPANISH OR PORTUGUESE. (n.d.). Retrieved April 21, 2019, from https://liberalarts.utexas.edu/spanish/academics/undergraduate-program/language-program/Placement.php

Rankin, S. R., & Reason, R. D. (2005). Differing perceptions: How students of color and White students perceive campus climate for underrepresented groups. *Journal of College Student Development*, *46*(1), 43-61.

Robertson, R. V., Bravo, A., & Chaney, C. (2014). Racism and the Experiences of Latina/o College Students at a PWI (Predominantly White Institution). *Critical Sociology*, *42*(4-5), 715-735. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0896920514532664

Rosa, J., & Flores, N. (2017). Unsettling race and language: Toward a raciolinguistic perspective. *Language in Society*, *46*(5), 621-647. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404517000562

Rosa, J. (2016). From Mock Spanish to Inverted Spanglish. In *Raciolinguistics: How language shapes our ideas about race* (pp. 65-80). New York: Oxford University Press.

Rosa, J. (2016a). Standardization, racialization, languagelessness: Raciolinguistic ideologies across communicative contexts. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, *26*(2), 162-183.

Rosa, J. (2016b). Racializing language, regimenting Latinas/os: Chronotope, social tense, and American raciolinguistic futures. *Language & Communication*, *46*, 106-117.

Samuels, A. (2016, October 26). Protesters disrupt "affirmative action bake sale" at UT-Austin. *The Texas Tribune.* Retrieved March 26, 2019, from https://www.texastribune.org/2016/10/26/affirmative-action-bake-sale-ut-austin-met-protest/

Solórzano, D. G., Villalpando, O., & Oseguera, L. (2005). Educational inequities and Latina/o undergraduate students in the United States: A critical race analysis of their educational progress. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, *4*(3), 272-294.

Solórzano, D., Ceja, M., & Yosso, T. (2000). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate: The experiences of African American college students. *Journal of Negro education*, 60-73.

Swaby, A. (2019, February 15). Texas' school finance system is unpopular and complex. Here's how it works. *The Texas Tribune.* Retrieved March 25, 2019, from https://www.texastribune.org/2019/02/15/texas-school-funding-how-it-works/

The Heritage Spanish Track. (n.d.). Retrieved April 21, 2019, from https://liberalarts.utexas.edu/spanish/academics/undergraduate-program/language-program/heritage-courses.php

Timeline. (2016). *The University of Texas at Austin.* Retrieved March 27, 2019, from http://diversity.utexas.edu/integration/timeline/

University of Texas at Austin | Government Salaries Explorer. (2017, July 6). *The Texas Tribune.* Retrieved March 27, 2019, from https://salaries.texastribune.org/university-of-texas-at-austin/

Urciuoli, B. (1996). Exposing Prejudice: Puerto Rican Experiences of Language. *Race, and Class.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

US Census Bureau. (2018, March 07). About Hispanic Origin. Retrived May 6, 2019, from https://www.census.gov/topics/population/hispanic-origin/about.html

Von Robertson, R., Bravo, A., & Chaney, C. (2016). Racism and the experiences of Latina/o college students at a PWI (predominantly White institution). *Critical Sociology*, *42*(4-5), 715-735.

Williams, D.R., Yu, Y., Jackson, J.S., and Anderson, N.B. “Racial Differences in Physical and Mental Health: Socioeconomic Status, Stress, and Discrimination.” *Journal of Health Psychology*. 1997; 2(3):335-351.

Yosso, T., Smith, W., Ceja, M., & Solórzano, D. (2009). Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate for Latina/o Undergraduates. *Harvard Educational Review*, *79*(4), 659-691. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.79.4.m6867014157m707l